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Lenape Culture History: The Transition of 1660 and Its Implications for the Archaeology of the Final Phase of the Late Woodland Period

Marshall Joseph Becker

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LENAPE CULTURE HISTORY: THE TRANSITION OF 1660 AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE FINAL PHASE OF THE LATE WOODLAND PERIOD

MARSHALL JOSEPH BECKER
WEST CHESTER UNIVERSITY

ABSTRACT

Lenape culture emerged after 1000 CE, adapting to the unique ecology of a specific portion of the lower Delaware River valley. This foraging pattern continued for nearly 250 years after European contact. The archaeological record reveals stability into the eighteenth century. Vast numbers of colonial documents reveal Lenape culture and patterns of change during this transition and help interpret the archaeological record.

A transition in settlement pattern and ecological adaptations of some Lenape are noted around 1660. Many individuals and some entire bands abandoned traditional fishing and relocated into central Pennsylvania to participate in the Susquehannock-dominated pelt trade. Lenape bands remaining in the Delaware Valley shifted their fishing stations further inland, reflecting continuing sales of land along the Delaware. These traditionalist bands continued the Lenape lifestyles into the 1730s, with only minor changes appearing in their mortuary and other cultural patterns during the last decades of this period.

INTRODUCTION

When I began research on the Lenape in 1968, I discovered vast inconsistencies between the archaeological evidence and the popular, often pseudo-academic, views commonly held about these people. The lifeways and cultural boundaries of the Lenape and their neighbors had been misrepresented in the popular and scholarly literature for some 200 years. The paucity of direct archaeological evidence (see Becker 1992a) led me to focus on the abundant documentary records. Research on this culture began with the reading of narrations provided by historians that formed the primary evidence used by archaeologists. I mistakenly assumed that historians examining the native past used a scientific methodology to provide an increasingly clear picture of the workings of each individual culture about which they wrote. I was wrong! The historical accounts also led me to infer that the documentary record was sparse, forcing scholars to stretch their interpretations based on limited evidence (e.g. Weslager 1972, Schutt 2007). Again, I was wrong. In addition to the vast numbers of documents published in the many volumes of the *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania* and the many series of the *Archives of Pennsylvania*, there are vast numbers of preserved accounts at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and elsewhere.

The Moravian Archives offer another source of data. The huge collection of records, as in the Logan Papers and others that are available among just those assembled in Philadelphia, pose an interesting dilemma. One could elect to read these masses of original papers, or one could read a selection of documents and make up a tale to go with it! Now, 40 years later, I understand the value of what anthropologists call "deep ethnography." Reading reams of documents is like living with the people, some of whom were wise and good and others of whom were not. Most important in this process is the recognition that individual Lenape often made very different decisions as to how they wished to deal with traders and colonists. Some Lenape joined the Europeans while others simply moved away.

The majority of Lenape individuals, as the majority of people in any culture, made constant minor adjustments to new and changing situations. The changing circumstances for the Lenape also involved new interactions with their native neighbors. For various reasons the Lenape, unlike the Mahican, Huron, Erie and others, were not destroyed or disrupted by the Five Nations Iroquois. These reasons include the

marginal location of Lenape territory coupled with their dispersed settlement pattern. But Iroquoian destruction of the village-dwelling Susquehannock and other native peoples in the region were to have, over the centuries, a significant if secondary impact on mainstream Lenape culture. The following narration summarizes the events that took place in the years before and during 1660; events that significantly influenced the course of Lenape lifeways during the following 15 years.

"Upstreaming," or examining data from a known period as a means of projecting cultural behavior of the past (cf. Fenton 1991: xi; 2009: xiv-xv), works best when cultural stability is evident, or when the processes of change during that interval are well understood. The documentary record for the Lenape, however, reveals that the years between 1660 and 1664 include a series of changes that significantly altered the trajectories of the lifeways of some Lenape groups, but not others. Over the period from 1660 to ca. 1675, years before William Penn received a Crown Charter to the region that included the Lenape homeland, many Lenape had relocated to central Pennsylvania where they became important participants in the pelt trade.

In recent decades the culture-history approach to reconstructing the past has been eschewed in favor of examining a variety of complex theoretical models supposedly more attuned with the archaeological data. The complexity of these theories is often in direct proportion to an absence of archaeological evidence. Each new theoretical "model" may add another dimension to the study of a culture, but despite the rhetoric and the jargon, all revolve about historical (processual?) reconstructions. This paper focuses on the point where we find the first evidence for Lenape culture change. The information derives from the documentary record, which confirms a view drawn from the limited archaeological information now available to us (Becker 1979, 1992b).

One of the confounding issues in reconstructing "Lenape" culture history derives from the multiple options available to these people after European Contact. This research has focused on the traditionalist Lenape, or those who maintained their fish oriented foraging patterns within their traditional homeland (Becker 2006). Several other modes of adjustment used by the Lenape after 1600 CE have been recognized. These include relocating to the west after 1660 to enter into the mainstream of the pelt trade. Another option was to settle among and/or marry colonists (Becker 1990, 1992a, 1993). While elements of social organization, ritual and values are difficult to elicit from the archaeological record, the continuity in the fundamentals of culture can be elicited from historical documents. Vivian Rohrl (1981) indicates in her study of the Chippewa that a culture has the ability to maintain continuity over centuries while undergoing massive changes in its material goods, a slow process of change also evident for the Lenape during their colonial period. Recently S. Silliman (2005:55) addressed "three problems with treating colonialism as culture contact." His view of the complexity and duration of contact and the variations of form apply in the Delaware Valley, but his belief that there were "radically different levels of political power" applies only to later periods of the process. All of these processes are culture-specific. When I began to distinguish aspects of Lenape foraging, I had not recognized all of the complexities of change. A more nuanced sequence is found in Table 1.

Who were the real Lenape? The lives of those Lenape who left the Delaware Valley between 1660 and 1675 were very different from those who married colonials or who settled among colonials during the same period. All were culturally "Lenape" but each group utilized a different strategy make a living, and thus to express their culture. The next generation of those living among the colonials may have been very different. This review focuses on those traditionalist Lenape of the early Middle Contact period who remained in their homeland while their close kin selected life courses that, as Silliman (2005:55) notes, hide "the subtleties of cultural change and continuity." I suggest that these changes are subtle only over the period of a generation or two, but follow different trajectories that become increasingly evident over time. I also propose that the different courses after 1660 were important to the rate at which convergence with the newly dominant English "tradition" took place.

A frequently discussed subject is the reliability of the documentary record. Reading large numbers of documents need not provide better understanding of a culture, particularly if the "information" does not conform to preconceived views. Numbers of authors have justly pointed out that there are considerable difficulties involved in translations (see Galloway 2006), as from the Dutch, Swedish, and French. This is a legitimate concern. But these concerns, like Rubertone's (2009) suggestion that

TABLE 1: LENAPE CULTURAL PHASES WITHIN THE LATE WOODLAND (LW) PERIOD (AFTER 1000 CE). THESE PHASES APPLY ONLY TO THOSE LENAPE REMAINING IN THEIR HOME AREA AND NOT TO LENAPE GROUPS THAT, AFTER 1660, SHIFTED THEIR PRIMARY RESIDENCE AREAS OUT OF THE DELAWARE VALLEY

Final Contact Period: Ca. 1735-1800. Acculturation begins.	The Lenape remaining in the Delaware Valley assumed working class colonial lifestyles. Those Lenape who went west prior to this period adapted Late Woodland foraging patterns to suit their life in western Pennsylvania and on the Ohio frontier.
Late Contact Period, 1675/1681 to ca. 1735	Most Lenape become important in the pelt trade. All traditional Lenape lands had been sold, but the last traditionalist bands gradually relocated to the west during this period. The Late Woodland period ends in the west side of the Delaware Valley.
Middle Contact Phase C, 1660-1675	Some individuals and perhaps entire bands move west to join the pelt trade. The emigrants adapt to the new economy. Increased sales of land.
Middle Contact Phase B, 1655-1660	The Susquehannock Alliance. Lenape establish ties with Susquehannock. Sales of some Lenape lands.
Middle Contact Phase A, 1623 to ca. 1655	The Susquehannock Disruption: Period of Susquehannock trade to Dutch on the South (Delaware) River and elsewhere. Lenape fishing stations shift slightly upstream to be less evident from the Delaware River and from the banks of some streams used by the Susquehannock to reach trading posts.
Early Contact Phase, 1500-1623	Cultural patterns unchanged in any way. Trade goods rare and, being mostly fabric, largely ephemeral (see Becker 2005a, 2005b).
Lenape Phase, 1400-1500	Establishment of Lenape cultural identity as seen during the first European contacts. Fishing pattern well established, at riverside sites (Becker 2006, 2010a).
Lenape Development Phase, 1100- 1400	Development of specific band territories; shift from patrilineal foragers to matrilineal fishers. Clear separation from their neighbors in kinship and culture.
Middle to Late Woodland transition, ca. 1000-1100	Transition from Middle Woodland, wide ranging foraging to foraging systems adapted to specific ecology of southeastern PA (Becker 2006).

historical accounts as they relate to the natives are "one-sided", may be tempered when masses of the documents are read, and when several records of the same event are compared. As James Merrell (2006) discovered through a specific test, the variations in these colonial records tends to be minimal. The impressive accuracy of these documents enables us to reconstruct native lifestyles, identities of distinct cultural entities (kin groups), and the cultural conservatism of that period. As will be seen below, I find that the accounts usually are in agreement, with only minor variations that tend to reflect the kinds of omissions that appear in any narrative. Taken together, the several surviving versions of any event usually complement one another, enabling us to better understand the details.

A WORLD TRADE SYSTEM AND A NEW WORLD ORDER: 1660

The year 1660 marked the restoration of the English monarchy, perhaps the best known event in European history for that period. The "Restoration" provided the English with the stability needed to direct energies toward the business of business. Among the many international ventures that profited from stability and economic growth at home was a vastly increased English participation in the pelt-felt-skin trade, a world trade system that had been expanding since 1500 CE. In 1660 the terminals of the Indian overland routes in this trade system that had been developing for 160 years, passed primarily into French hands in Canada and Dutch hands in the regions from Maine to Delaware. Routes through the southern states and to Spanish and other traders in the west had their own histories and influences on native peoples. English colonists in New England and Maryland had made minor inroads into the Dutch dominated region after 1630, but with a new calm at home in 1660, the pressure on the Dutch intensified and within four years Dutch control of the Middle Atlantic region had been ceded to the English. The impact on the many native populations already suffering from Five Nations raiding was considerable.

Daily life for most of the Lenape had remained largely unaltered until ca. 1660, except for a slight shift in material possessions. Trade goods that entered the region after 1623 augmented Lenape material culture, but did not create any impetus for culture change. Periodic shifts in the locations of Lenape fishing stations at sites along the Delaware River, or "settlement" relocation patterns, remained unchanged until 1660 (Becker 2009a). Growing numbers of Swedish and English colonial farmsteads, established on lands purchased from the Lenape, began to impact the local environment as well as the natives in it. Extremely productive English farmers in the Delaware Valley, as well as in New England, sold grain at rates lower than Lenape gardeners (Becker 1995, 1999a). By 1660 this end of maize sales and other changes in Lenape economic strategies led to two very different routes for the Lenape (see Becker 2010a).

DOCUMENTING GRADUAL CULTURE CHANGE: PRE-1660 LENAPE LIFESTYLES

To understand Lenape culture history post-1660 we need to understand a number of basic points regarding limited changes before that date. Very few historical records pertain directly to the Lenape (cf. Becker 2006) and the published archaeological record for the Lenape prior to ca. 1720 is extremely limited. In part this is due to my own failure to publish excavation data (cf. Becker 1992a). The rise of the pelt trade, as a part of a true world trade system as distinct from casual exchanges involving peltry, had begun early in the 1500s and soon became concentrated in the hands of several powerful confederacies. These developed specifically to capture and dominate specific commercial routes. The Five Nations Iroquois dominated across New York and out to the Great Lakes while the Susquehannock Confederacy controlled Pennsylvania, the upper Potomac region and links out to the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. European factories were shifting into modern industrial levels of production that required sustained input and high levels of raw materials. The co-operation, or at least mutual non-aggression, among the members within each confederacy enabled them to supply the European merchants with sufficient volumes of peltry to feed a Late Medieval (proto-industrial) factory system producing felt and leather.

Traditional native trading networks, that previously moved marine shells to the interior of the continent in exchange for copper and other goods, became vastly more active when European contacts stimulated new economies. The development of native confederacies, including the Wendat-Huron, facilitated the use of existing western trade routes, allowing masses of pelts to be moved to "coastal" trading locations such as Albany or the head of Chesapeake Bay. Before 1550 the Susquehannock Iroquoians were either bypassed or specifically separated from their confederating neighbors in present New York. The Susquehannock moved south and west to more strategic locations along a different west-to-east route for the pelt trade, confederating with various peoples in Pennsylvania to move pelts from the Monongahela-Ohio region to coastal outlets.

The economic success of the Susquehannock confederacy is well documented in the archaeological (B. Kent 1984) and the documentary record (D. Kent 1979). Aspects of their trading system were jeopardized by the Powhatan uprising of 1622, which created a climate of violence throughout the Chesapeake region and made dangerous the delivery of peltry. After the dust had settled, it became dangerous for all natives, regardless of tribal affiliation, to enter that zone of conflict. The danger to Susquehannock traders bringing peltry down the river led them to avoid the Chesapeake outlet and seek safety, along with better prices, by organizing a Dutch trade link (cf. Jennings 1968). Previously the pelt trade from the tribes on the South River had been a marginal activity, not worth regular visits let alone the establishment of a formal trading station. The Susquehannock guarantee that they would bring abundant peltry overland led the Dutch West India Company, by the spring of 1623, to set up a seasonal "fort" to do business. This post was located on Burlington Island (cf. Becker 2000), or Matineconck (Linn and Egle 1890b; cf. Becker 1999b).

Private Dutch traders may have been working along the South (Delaware) River by 1615 (Jaap Jacobs, personal communication, May 2010), but in 1623 the Dutch West India Company at Fort Amsterdam began sending ships to the Delaware River on a regular basis. By late spring each year the Susquehannock brought pelts purchased from natives to the west of their own hunting territory, adding them to their own supply, and moving them to outlets in the east. The Dutch sought these large numbers of pelts brought by the Susquehannock via portages from their river (O'Callaghan 1855, IX: 1035) to streams entirely within Lenape territory. Susquehannock "abuse" of the Lenape during the period from 1623 to the 1650s, or at least nasty disregard for them, is well documented. According to accounts by De Vries in 1633 and Yong in 1634 (Myers 1912:24, 40) Susquehannock incursions led some of the Lenape bands to relocate during this period (Becker 2008). The season of pelt trading followed the winter hunting period, with a series of trades among native groups moving peltry towards the east coasts. With their focus on fish, the Lenape had few pelts to trade, as is indicated in the early accounts that uniformly note Lenape inability to supply peltry in the volume that attracted major brokers. Johan Printz, in the early 1650s, noted that "the River Indians [Lenape] were poor and had nothing but maize to sell" (Johnson 1917:279).

A shift in the primary trade route of the Susquehannock after 1623 did not mean that they abandoned contacts with the English of the Maryland colony. The Susquehannock were eager to maintain as many sources of European goods as possible and to keep bidding for pelts at peak levels. Despite the reopening of a safe passage to the Chesapeake traders in the late 1640s, the Susquehannock remained the dominant players in the pelt trade on the South River. They still held that position in 1655 when the local Dutch garrison felt threatened by encroachment from the Marylanders. Fearing Swedish complicity in taking control of the area, the Dutch garrison wished to secure military reinforcement from Fort Amsterdam to gain full control over the South River. The capture of a Dutch fort by the Swedes led the administrators in Amsterdam, who recognized Swedish involvement in European wars would hinder aid, to authorize the conquest of New Sweden. Despite these efforts, Dutch hegemony in this region was soon to end. The Lenape, long marginal to mainstream world trade in peltry, were attracted to the pelt trade through Pennsylvania. Following the long period of Susquehannock dominance and abuse, this opportunity provided a reversal of fortune.

Prior to their entry into mainstream pelt trading, ca. 1660, the foraging Lenape remained untouched by the types of material changes taking place among their western neighbors. In one regard this encouraged their cultural stability. The inland horticultural confederacies such as the Susquehannock and

Five Nations Iroquois were important brokers in the pelt trade. Each confederacy formed when a series of native societies formed a non-aggression alliance that enabled them to move peltry from west to east through their collective territories. The wealth flowing to each confederacy augmented its power, and vastly amplified the materials available to each of the allied cultures. David Pietersen de Vries (1912) had identified whale oil, salt and other goods as trade items central to the New Netherlands economic sphere. By the 1630s peltry, and later tobacco, had become a critical element in world trade. In this early "global economy" pelts from all over North America, exchanged for woolens and other European goods, were transported back to European factories where they were converted to leather and hair for felt. These goods then moved east to Russia and China where they were traded for silk and tea.

Some of the confederated Susquehannock tribes preferred to do business with Marylanders rather than in the region of Dutch hegemony, along the North and South rivers (Hudson and Delaware). The opportunities for English traders in the Chesapeake region were many. Dutch success on the South River led the Swedish to enter that pelt trade. Whether the Swedes believed they could wrest it all from the Dutch is unclear, but in 1638 they established Fortress Christina where Wilmington now stands. Land sales soon became one of the more lucrative means by which the Lenape could acquire desired goods. Small purchases, of perhaps ten to 50 acres, were most common at this early period. Tracts were sold to Dutch purchasers, probably as early as the 1630s, and to Swedes after 1638. Note should be made that this first Swedish expedition to the Delaware in 1638 was led by former New Netherlands Director Peter Minuit. In 1643, after nearly five years of little success, Johann Printz was appointed as the third Swedish "governor." His appointment followed the Dutch treaty of April 1643 with the several Indian tribes of the lower Hudson River valley (Starna 2008:318, Note 132; e.g., Fernow 1881, XIII:14).

Printz built his own home, and trading station on Tinnicum Island, upriver from Fortress Christina (Becker 1999b, 2000b). His efforts to secure the pelt trade from the Dutch were no more successful than those of his predecessors. In a letter dated at Tinnicum 20 June 1646 (Linn and Egle 1890a, Second series V:113) Printz discussed the prospects of luring the Susquehannock trade away from the Dutch. At that time the pelt trade with the local Indians remained marginal if not insignificant, while the flow of peltry from the Susquehannock brokers was rising. The European contacts and colonization that created such social and economic turmoil in other coastal zones had no significant impact on the Lenape prior to 1660.

"Minquas," the negative term for the Susquehannock used by the Lenape, is still applied to a creek that was one of the waterways used to portage to the Delaware. The Lenape bands adapted to these intrusions, keeping a low profile during the trading season. Being marginal to the pelt trade, the Lenape developed a host of other strategies to gain access to European goods: provisioning, production of wooden goods (treen), running an effective mail service, and bounty hunting (crow, wolf, and human). By 1640 Lenape maize production, through increased summer gardening (Becker 1999a), enabled the Swedes to buy grain cheaply and to focus on growing tobacco, a valuable and addictive cash crop for export. Lenape traditional behavior as foragers enabled them to gather some pelts and also to trade fish, beans, hops, and venison, through which they gained access to limited quantities of trade goods. The great English migration into the Delaware Valley began in the 1650s. Soon after Quaker and other speculators made wholesale purchases of land from natives in southern New Jersey (Becker 1998). Smaller tracts of land also were sold to various colonists, most of whom were New England transplants. Many of these tracts were parcels that had been "reclaimed" by natives ("Indian given"?) and then resold.

THE 1650s

The 1650s saw increasing cultural complexity among the Europeans settling in the Delaware Valley. English descent farmers left New England for the warmer, more fertile, less rocky soils of the Delaware Valley. New Haven (Connecticut) people were on Varcken's Kill (Salem Creek) as early as 1641 (Elmer 1869:5). In 1643 Johan Printz evicted at least one "English" family from the area around Swedish Fort Elfsborg, in southwestern New Jersey, and confiscated their "house" (Becker 1979, 1999b). By 1655 numbers of English were on either side of the river. The total number of Dutch merchants and settlers in the region may not have equaled the Swedish colonists, who themselves may not have

numbered above 400 by 1655. As European competition in this region increased the representatives of each nation wished to have written documents confirming title to any land purchased from the natives. A sale of land in Lenape territory on 30 July 1651, signed by Wappanghzewan and six others (Linn and Egle 1890a, ser. 2, V:257-258) is one of the few known from the period before 1670. Whether these "vendors" were lawful participants in this sale remains to be confirmed through Lenape genealogical research.

Politically correct fables regarding European land swindles now abound, but none can be documented. On the other hand, various native land scams are well documented (see Becker 1998). The more we learn about individual natives and their kin groups, the easier it is to identify nefarious activities on their part. In many cases the European "purchasers" were complicit in these illegitimate land "sales." The well documented sale to Peter Stuyvesant of "land situate on the west shore of the South River" on 9 July 1655 (New Style), for which there are several copies of the deed and even more translations, is of particular interest (O'Callaghan 1856, I:598-600; Fernow 1877, I:599-600; Linn and Egle 1890a, Ser. 2, V:266-267; Kent 1979:21-23). A thorough review of the tribal affiliations of the vendors and witnesses would help demonstrate which, if any, of the vendors held traditional rights to the tract "sold" on that date (Becker 2010c).

By 1655 political competition in Europe was increasingly felt throughout the Northeast. Dutch hegemony over the region from Delaware Bay to northern Maine had been in steady decline; squeezed as a result of a *de facto* English pincer movement. Various English settlements in New England had gained control of a significant pelt market, from the mouth of the Fresh (Connecticut) River to the eastern shores. The Virginia colony and the Maryland colony controlled the movements of peltry through the Chesapeake. The Hudson (North) River link to the Five Nations and the South River link to the Susquehannock were the mainstay of the Dutch economic interactions with native peoples. The ineffectual Swedish settlement had not achieved its goal of wresting the Susquehannock dominated pelt trade from the Dutch. In 1655 the Lenape were still providing only a very low level of peltry sales, primarily their own local catch rather than trafficking in pelts coming through the western trade routes. The Lenape often defrauded the Swedes through promises to deliver pelts that never appeared. Lenape vendors secured advance payments of goods from the Swedes, with promises to pay in pelts. They then sold any pelts they collected to the Dutch and defaulted on their obligations to the Swedes (Becker 1999b: 57).

While the Dutch West India Company may have controlled the pelt trade, it perceived the rising threat from the expanding English colonies. These colonial zones were allied with the Swedes in informal ways. The erection of a series of Swedish forts along the Delaware, mostly intended for the protection of individual farmsteads, and the increasing numbers of English immigrant groups to that area confirmed the Dutch belief that their colonial interests were under threat. In 1655 a small Dutch fleet "conquered" the Swedes on the South River. Some administrators returned to Sweden, but most of the widely dispersed Swedish farmers and frontiersmen remained in place among the Dutch, English, and other Europeans who had established outposts of "freedom" in the region. All of these immigrants provided customers interested in purchasing Lenape land. The smallholders preferred lands immediately along navigable waters which provided the most effective contact with neighbors and markets for produce, as well as rich salt marsh forage for cattle and for hunting. The warm weather fishing stations of the Lenape, each with a relatively small population, now were inter-spaced with farms of European immigrants (Becker 2006). The effective and productive commensual relationships that had been developing along the Delaware River since the 1620s had reached a peak by the end of the 1650s.

NATIVE "WARFARE" – A PARALLEL UNIVERSE

Just as European rivalries kept most of that continent in a state of perpetual warfare, the Five Nations Iroquois generated similar confrontations among native groups throughout the Northeast (Becker Ms. A). The term "Seneca" commonly was used collectively for these raiders, but the Seneca commonly were joined by Mohawk (Maquas, Mauques; Fernow 1877, XII:438-9) and other members of what now is

identified as the Haudenosaunee in their various exploits. The extent of their co-operation varied from day to day. From the ca. 1630 destruction of the Mahican, living in the Albany area of the Hudson River, to the systematic dispersal or extermination of other native peoples, the Five Nations could entertain themselves with sporting wars while increasing their hold on their pelt trading neighbors to the west. By 1654 the Five Nations had dislodged, destroyed or exterminated the Mahican, the Saint Lawrence Iroquoians, and the Huron Confederacy. Soon after 1654 they annihilated the Erie or *Nation du Chat* (Cat Nation). With the termination of the Erie, Five Nations aggression focused on the Susquehannock.

The extent of raiding in central Pennsylvania by the Five Nations Iroquois in 1652 was still low, but increased very rapidly after 1654. In an attempt to bring European settlers into their orbit the Susquehannock made at least one land sale to the Swedes in 1655 (Craig and Yocum 1983:255, n86). The significance of this effort has been lost on scholars concerned only with a European viewpoint. With five distinct Iroquoian peoples entertaining themselves by sending raiding parties into Pennsylvania, the Susquehannock Confederacy was rapidly destabilized. Susquehannock trade relations with the Dutch become less active after 1650, overshadowed by trade with the English. In the summer of 1652 the Maryland colony had taken an opportunity to secure peace along the northern zone and to foster trade in peltry that must have been going from the Susquehannock to the Dutch. On 28 June 1652 the Maryland Council noted that the Susquehannock Indians had long desired peace, and sent a select group to treat with them. This group of English from the Province of Maryland met with the "Indian Nation of Sasquesahanogh" on 5 July 1652. At this treaty these two powers divided up the lands surrounding their realms, much of which may have been buffer zone but some of which may have belonged to other tribes. The English claimed all the land on the west side of Chesapeake Bay from the Patuxent River to Palmers Island, and on the east side from the Choptank River to the Northeast Branch (north of Elk River), together with all rights therein. Excepted were the Isle of Kent and Palmers Island, both of which belonged to Capt. William Clayborne after 1637. Palmers Island was declared to be a port-of-trade. As regards native rights to enter the English area to conduct business, the Indians were obliged to come by water, not land, and in groups not to exceed ten people. Trade groups also were to carry a "token" or message (passport) given to them for the purpose, and the English also were to carry a token. Of particular note is the signing of this document by Sawahegeh, listed as "treasurer" [wampum keeper?] along with four "Warr Captains" – Auroghtaregh, Soarhuhagigh, Ruthchogah, and Wathetdianeh. These were the "external affairs" leaders of the four major tribes of the Susquehannock Confederacy (cf. Becker 1975, 2009b ; the names of the six confederated tribes appear below). Five Englishmen signed for Maryland along with William Lawson, whose relationship to the group is unclear. "Iafer Peter for the Sweades Governor" signed as a witness (Browne 1885, III:276-278).

The 1652 treaty with the Susquehannock was intended to reduce stress along the northern borders of the Maryland colony while they dealt with raids from other native groups in the region. The instability in this arrangement is evident by the provision that twenty days notice was to be given should either party wish to break the treaty. On 28 July 1652, less than a month after signing the Susquehannock treaty, the Marylanders complained that the Indians on the Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake were getting out of control (Browne 1885:279). Once the Eastern Shore Indians had been brought under control, the Marylanders turned their attention to ways of dealing with the Susquehannock. In 1659 Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, requested that the Dutch surrender the Delaware River. Jennings (1982:222) believes that many Dutch then fled to Maryland.

Dutch influence among the Susquehannock lost out to the Marylanders, a factor that may have been very significant in leading the Dutch to "conquer" New Sweden. But declining Dutch power reduced the ability of all the native tribes to play one European power against the others. Rising Five Nations power largely severed the Susquehannock link to French trade. In an attempt to garner allies and alternative strategies, the Susquehannock made offers of land rights to the Swedish colonists as well as to the Marylanders in an effort to draw Europeans into their sphere of influence. These offers, in the form of access to the pelt trade as well as land rights, were extended to the Lenape. The decline in Susquehannock hegemony over the Lenape, such as it may have been, coincided with the Duke of York period, 1664-1682, when the Susquehannock could no longer play the Dutch off against the English (see Becker 1980: 27). The legitimacy of many land sales in and around Lenape territory now can be better understood, as

we recognize the identities of the native vendors. For the Lenape the period from ca. 1660 to 1675 marked their gradual entry into the mainstream pelt trade on the frontier. Formerly, peltry derived from food animals taken during the three to four month winter season would have required some form of storage to allow them to be brought to market Becker 2011b). Peltry accumulated during the longer fishing season was less of a problem as they could be marketed to ready colonial buyers, mostly illegally (trading without a license). The shift to participation in the Susquehannock peltry system involved adjustment to an altered foraging economic system, quite different from collecting anadromous fish. The benefits of a greater and somewhat regular "income" derived from trading for pelts from western Indians and then selling them to Europeans, once the mainstay of the Susquehannock economy, offered the Lenape an important alternative to their traditional fish-focused economy. In effect the Lenape, who secured limited numbers of pelts through their own traditional foraging system, entered into trade along the "pelt-route" that brought peltry from native vendors to the west who sold them to middlemen in Pennsylvania who, in turn, marketed them to highest bidders along the coast.

THE SIX NATIONS OF THE SUSQUEHANNOCK CONFEDERACY

The Five Nations Iroquois of New York are well known archaeologically, but almost nothing is known of the several confederacies that they destroyed such as that of the Susquesahannock (Susquehannock). In 1655 the sachems of the White Minquas [Susquehannock] "and their united nations, the Tehaque, the Skonedidehoga, the Serasquacke, the true Minquas and the Lower Quarter of the Minquas" presented a large tract of land to the Swedes (Johnson 1917: 278), apparently in an effort to entice the Swedes into their orbit. This account provides the longest and possibly the most complete listing of the six distinct tribes that composed the Susquehannock Confederacy in the 1650s (see also Becker Ms. B). Raids against the Susquehannock Confederacy by the Five Nations Iroquois, often identified in the Pennsylvania documents as "Seneca" or "Sinnekes," had escalated significantly after 1654.

The Dutch, through their outposts near present Albany, were major suppliers of armaments to the Five Nations. Thus the Dutch on the South River and Bay had several reasons for concern with a possible invasion of the South River by the English based in Maryland. In 1658, with increasing English aggression against the Dutch, Willem [Wilhelmus] Beeckman, generally identified in the English documents as "Beekman," was appointed as Vice-Director for the Delaware area. His role has been considered controversial, but he had been placed in a situation that was deteriorating every day and for which no solution seems evident to this day.

THE GATHERING STORM

Despite the lost and destruction of huge quantities of documents from the Dutch West India Company and the various courts set up to conduct affairs in the Dutch colony, impressive numbers of these records survive. Decoding these documents often is complicated by the use of two calendar systems, the old Julian and that proposed in 1582 by Pope Gregory XIII. Adoption of the Gregorian change often was along religious lines, with the Anglicans using the Old Style (OS, or Julian) as late as 1751. Of importance during the period around 1659 is the effort made by some Dutch to use "double dates," using the Old Style (OS) first, then the New Style (NS).

In addition to the many surviving documents gathered by O'Callaghan (e.g., Fernow 1897) there remain huge numbers published by V. H. Paltsits (1910), who provides both Dutch and English versions of events. The court records reveal the litigious lives of European colonists as well as the economic workings of their society, while state papers reveal the complex interactions and costs involved in relations with the Indians. In 1656, the year that the first Quakers arrived at Fort Amsterdam, there is an observation in Hendrick van Naerden's legal suit of 17 January regarding a recent financial default "in consequence of these troubles with the Indians" (Fernow 1897:12-14), a reference to the "Peach War" of September 1655. While difficulties with one or another native tribe along the North River appear to have

been a common theme, they were changing in their nature and severity as the Dutch colony faltered in the late 1650s.

Regional conflicts are revealed in an important document from 1659; Augustine Herrman's journal of a Dutch mission to Gov. Phillip Calvert of Maryland (Linn and Egle 1890a, Ser. 2, V:361-377; also Doc. 18:96, Gehring 1981:211-222; see also Paltsits 1910). The venture was part of the continuing effort to resolve the borders of the Maryland colony. Herrman's party departed 30 Sept. 1659 (OS) from New Amstel (present Newcastle) to a portage across the peninsula. There Herrman discharged his four guides, probably Lenape rather than Sekonese, and continued led by "Sander Poeyer [Alexander Boyer], with his Indian" as guides (Hall 1910:316). This area of the Chesapeake drainage, beyond the present Delaware-Maryland border, was then populated by numbers of Finns and Swedes who had fled the Swedish colony.

On 3 October 1659 Herrman spoke with an Indian whom, along with his Sekonese people, "had been incited by the Dutch of the Hoere kill [region of present Lewes, DE] to murder the English." This informant's father supposedly had been killed by the Dutch, but the Dutch claimed that the murderers were English! The Indian said that, on the basis of the Dutch claim, he had killed an Englishman in revenge. Where these murders are recorded I do not know (but, see Gehring 1981:110). Every killing in any part of this region received a great deal of attention. This narration recorded by Herrman reveals what may have been the beginnings of the conflicts, and conflicting reports, that characterize the period surrounding the end of Dutch hegemony in this region. The incident, imbedded within the documentation of a ambassadorial expedition, is an important clue to the building tensions among the many peoples of this region. By 6 October 1659 Herrman and his party reached the "Potucxen River" (Gehring 1981:213) where they left the boat. It was not until several days later, on October 16 (Oct. 6 NS), that Herrman actually met with the Governor. They stayed until October 21 (Oct. 11 NS), when Herrman left for Virginia to conduct further diplomatic activities.

Herrman's trip provided important information regarding the Delaware-Chesapeake portage that he soon turned to his advantage. He undertook a map of the area for George Calvert, Lord Baltimore in exchange for a 6,000 acre grant on what became the Bohemia River in Maryland. There he established a manor, and later received additional lands from Lord Baltimore to form a huge strip extending from the Elk River to the Delaware River (Bedini 2001:469). The map was completed in 1670, and printed in 1673 (Hermann 1673). This tract extended through the territory of the southern Lenape band or bands, and whether or not Herrman ever secured native title remains unknown. Herrman eventually constructed a cart road across this area to facilitate trade, a plan he noted in the spring of 1661 (Linn and Egle 1890b, VII:698-699;Fernow 1877:337).

The brief description of a killing and revenge attack noted by Herrman in his 1659 journal presaged the conflicts among several native tribes and with the Marylanders that are extensively documented in the Maryland records. Of some interest is the paucity of documents that include references to the Sekonese (Ciconicin), the tribe living along Delaware Bay between Indian River on the south and the Bombay Hook area on the north (Becker 1998, Ms. C). These aboriginal occupants of the region called the "Hoere kill," around present Lewes, Delaware, had become relatively acculturated by the 1660s (Fernow 1877, XII:135-371). The members of this true chiefdom, which occupied all of central Delaware, made effective ajustments to colonization (see Becker Ms. C). The Sekonese were minimally involved in the conflicts that were taking place to their north and to their west.

Before focusing on activities and violent acts by both colonists and natives in the region that was soon to become Pennsylvania, a note should be made regarding early Quaker immigrants into the Northeast. Several English religious colonies that had been established in New England were, if anything, more intolerant than European nations of the period. The Massachusetts Bay Colony had passed laws banishing Quakers and related "ranting" groups "on pain of death." Four of the more persistent members of the Quaker movement were hanged in the Bay Colony during 1659 and 1660. Issues of religion, sovereignty, and interpretations of the "common law" not only concerned relations with native communities, but among the many colonial groups then developing political entities in the Northeast. When we review conflicts between colonists and natives we should not forget that the colonial groups were competing amongst themselves for sovereignty and hegemony.

1660: A CLIMATE OF VIOLENCE IN AN ERA OF CHANGE AND DECLINING DUTCH POWER

By 1660 the decline of Dutch power in the Northeast was evident to all the native peoples throughout the realm in which the Dutch West India Company still had hegemony. This decline is indicated by the many documents from 1660 that report events suggesting to me that the native peoples were using the erosion of Dutch power to exert their own autonomy. Most evident are the efforts of several Hudson River tribes to seek territory by right of conquest and other means. A "climate of violence" emerged as the imploding Dutch polity in the region was about to leave a power vacuum. Lack of a significant central control enabled natives as well as colonists to kill one another and to steal, and then to blame other native or colonial groups (Becker 2004, Ms. C).

Sales of liquor to the various native groups along the Delaware (South) River also exacerbated other serious problems (Fernow 1877, XII:340-341). The records for 1660 reveal that the Susquehannock recently had become allied to the Lenape and perhaps other groups along the South River (Fernow 1877, XII:302-543). The Susquehannock were also concerned with the position of the Piscataway tribe in Maryland, another true chiefdom closely tied to the Marylanders. The Piscataway are extensively documented in the records of that colony. The Picataway leader was commonly identified as the "Emperor of Pascattoway," indicating that he was a true "chief" who held sway over a number of villages and subordinated tribes. The activities of this "Emperor" and a number of named natives are noted on 20 December 1660 (Browne 1885, III:402-403) as they relate to activities in Maryland. In general they tried to maintain a status marginal to the operations of the colony, and they scrupulously avoided interactions with native peoples to the north.

All of the Dutch problems on the South River were but an extension of Dutch troubles on the North River (Becker Ms. C). The Dutch on the South River had increasing difficulties in recruiting native mail carriers, while at Fort Amsterdam they could not find mercenaries. Mohawk and others had been employed in previous years. The usual technique for raising native forces in one area and sending them to deal with native problems in another part of the colony, in the ancient Roman fashion, had broken down. They could not hire natives from various parts of their realm, since all of the tribes appear to have become aware of the decline of Dutch power.

A significant pause in trading activities is noted in the area along the South River during 1660. Natives as well as colonists living in that zone were wary of all interactions. The Swedish archives for this period reveal a surprising lack of information from this critical period (Fur 2006:232-233). The Swedish colonists certainly were concerned about the rising violence, but the Lenape found opportunities opening to them and were rapidly making changes to take advantage of them. Much of Lenape adjustment took place during the winter hunting season of 1660-1661, leaving a significantly altered settlement pattern (Becker 2010c). In the spring of 1661 few of the Lenape bands returned to their fishing stations that in prior years had been located directly along the South River. During this important period in their history the bands were beginning to shift their fishing stations to locations much farther upstream from the mouths of the waterways along which each band operated.

By 1661 "Seneca" (Five Nations) raiding was strongly focused on the Susquehannock and their local native allies. The Dutch struggled to resist the English and all colonists worried about native raiding – but primarily when those raids were lethal to colonists. The extent of European concern can be seen in the plethora of documents that survive to describe the killings of Europeans, such as the four killed on 17 April 1661 (Old Style). As often the case with reports relating to events in the colonies, no single document provides an effective narration or chronology for many events. The best collection of documents for these killings appears in the Archives of Maryland (Browne 1885, III: 414-417; Turner 1911:106). The weaknesses, concerns, and decline of Dutch power is revealed within the pages of these reports (see Becker Ms. C). In addition to the stresses that the Dutch faced with the Marylanders and various native groups, there were interesting internal difficulties that also may have emerged due to the general decline of Dutch power.

With the English gaining control of the Dutch lands in 1664, the many native peoples of the region no longer had two significant powers vying for their peltry or allegiances (cf. Linn and Egle 1890a, Ser.

2, V:538-540). The 1664 transfer was extremely orderly, and the region remained peaceful for a number of years. In this part of the newly English territories the aboriginal Lenape were successfully shifting most or all of their fishing stations to locations a few kilometers upstream, away from the Delaware River. Otherwise, individuals and other bands of Lenape continued to participate in the Susquehannock controlled pelt trade.

A REVIEW: INTERPRETING THE EVIDENCE TO PREDICT SITE LOCATIONS (SEE TABLE 1)

The Lenape had remained relatively undisturbed in their homeland before 1623, with the warm weather fishing stations of each band located directly along the Delaware River. Lenape sites dating from between 1500 and 1623 may yield a rare piece of European goods, but we need to seek other techniques to distinguish this early Contact phase of the Late Woodland Period from earlier phases. We also need to recognize that the most important type of trade materials to the Lenape and all peoples along the Atlantic coast throughout the Terminal Woodland Period were woolen fabrics (Becker 2005a), the preservation of which is rare (Becker 2010c).

From 1623 until the 1650s the locations of Lenape fishing stations may have shifted to places less visible from the river, and less evident to Susquehannock trading expeditions. European trade and colonization may have had less impact on the Lenape than on any other native tribe along the East coast, but increasing numbers of trade goods should characterize their fishing stations during the period from 1623 to ca. 1660, and in increasing numbers after that date. Lenape access to desired European goods (Becker 2005a), was minimal, but provided adequate quantities to these foragers.

In addition to the trade in pelts, the Lenape continued to exchange venison and presumably other edibles with the colonists, and provided bowls and other treen to these people. They also offered numerous services, such as bounty hunting (crows, wolves, and people), mail service to Fort Amsterdam and elsewhere, and scouting (guides and exploration). Perhaps the most lucrative activity, however, was the sale of land. Parcels sold to the early colonists and traders were invariably small holdings, probably on the order of ten to twenty acres (5-10 ha), with some tracts as large as 50 acres (ca 20 ha). These were widely scattered plots, somewhat reflecting the Swedish desire to be independent if not isolated. In 1660 the total European population in the lower Delaware Valley was fewer than 500 men, women and children, scattered between the rivers that bounded Lenape territory. These were old Duck Creek (now the Leipsic River) on the south and Tohickon Creek on the north (Figure 1). The hundred or so European families had a population only somewhat larger in number than those of the Lenape themselves, but sparsely distributed over the landscape in much the same manner as the Lenape.

The influx of English into the Delaware Valley after 1650 provided new customers for Lenape lands, and by 1660 all the choice lands along the Delaware were commanding premium prices. With no functioning road system, communication routes were primarily by water, and export of crop surpluses and other resources continued to depend on the river systems. The situation with the Susquehannock's desire for allies, plus shifts in English populations, now fostered two distinct strategic avenues for the Lenape, or at least those who had not already chosen to marry and/or to live among the colonists. One was to relocate to the west and become involved, seasonally or permanently, in the pelt trade. A second alternative was the default mode – to continue living along their traditional streams feeding the Delaware River, collecting anadromous fish most of the year and conducting resource gathering during the winter. It's important to note at this point that the warm weather fishing stations, with a spatial organization that continues to elude us, were occupied only eight or nine months during the year, and were used for perhaps five or six consecutive years before being abandoned. During those brief years, bark stripping and resource gathering depleted materials and foods available in the general area. These denuded locations, identified by colonists as "Indian fields" were no longer of use to the natives but provided prime lands, more easily cleared than dense forest, to colonial purchasers. In the late fall the band elders would decide if they were going to abandon an area, and where they would establish the next fishing station when they returned from winter "hunting." In the period before 1660 the locations of all of these

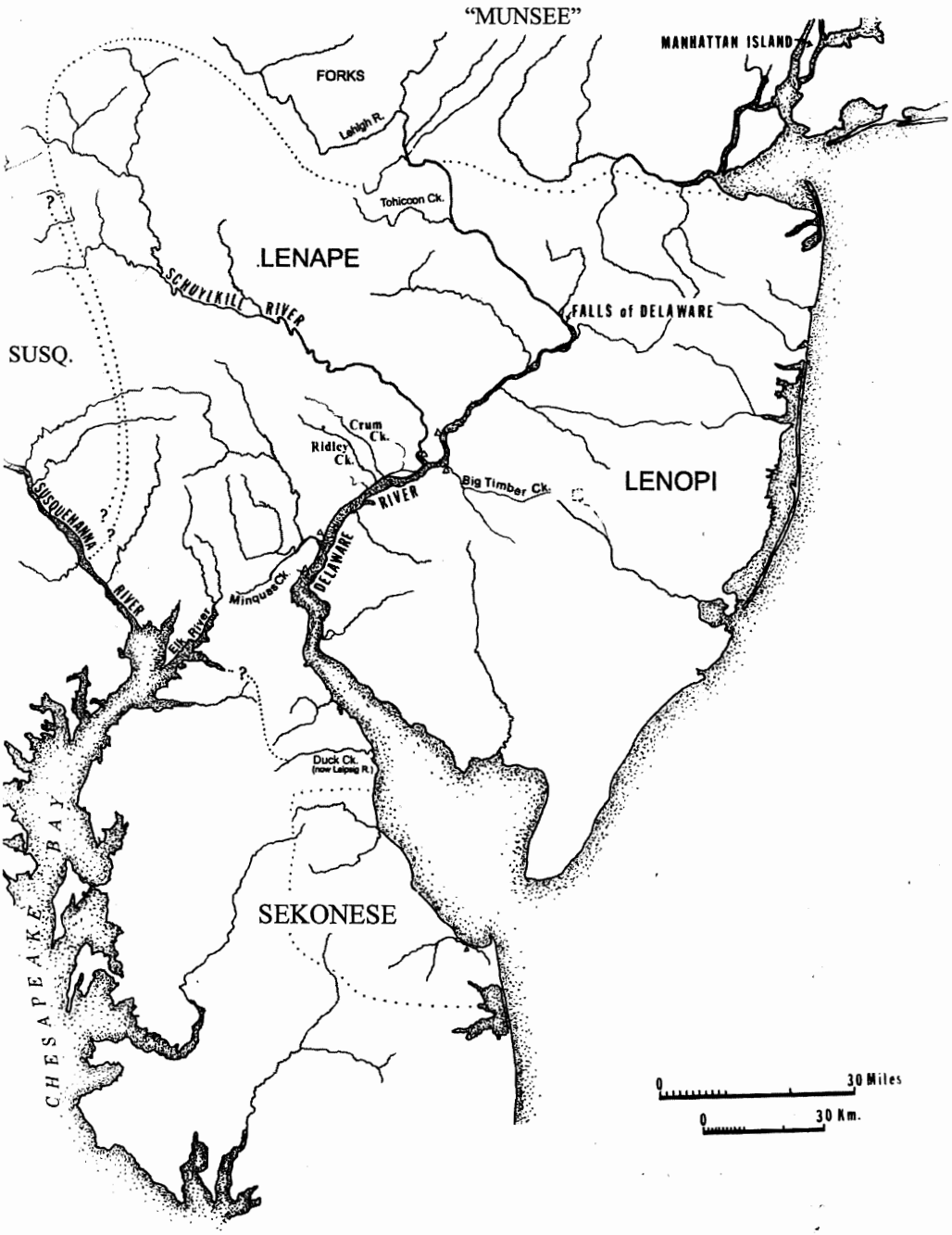

Figure 1. Map of the Lower Delaware River Valley and surrounding areas showing Contact era tribal names and territories (see Becker 2006, 2008, 2010a, 2010c, for more information).

fishing stations were along the Delaware River, usually on one side or the other of the principle stream that defined each band's territory. After 1660 we find a steady upstream "migration" of these stations. At the same time, a need for saw and grist mills grew along with the Colonial population. The few Swedish mills were insufficient to grind grain (Linn and Egle 1890b, ser. 2, VII:724-5).

By 1675 the years of Five Nations attacks and the treachery of the Maryland colony resulted in the destruction of the Susquehannock Confederacy. These tribes, unable to secure arms to defend themselves, dispersed during the winter of 1674-75 (see *The Breviate,* Egle 1890). Iroquois raiding in central Pennsylvania generally took place at some distance from the colonized areas along the coast and were far

less well documented than their raids into the zones occupied by European immigrants. Our ability to decode the few documents recording this event also suffer from the slow adoption of the Gregorian calendar system (see above).

How many individuals, families, or entire bands of Lenape moved west after 1660, and when and where they relocated, remains largely speculative. A Lenape burial site on the eastern side of the Susquehanna River drainage, Lancaster County Park site (36LA96), was salvaged by Kinsey and Custer (1982), who erroneously identified it as Susquehannock and dated to 1700-1725. Their placement of this site in the Susquehannock tradition reflects a number of failings in the process of archaeological identification. The archaeological evidence demonstrates that this site closely resembles the Montgomery site (36CH60), a burial area used by the Brandywine band of Lenape from ca. 1720 to 1733 (Becker 1992a, 1992b). This was one of the Lenape bands that continued to sustain traditional fishing patterns in their ancestral range, yet their similarities with a band that had moved west are remarkable, but expected.

Most Lenape continued in the old ways in their old areas, even after 1660 when these traditionalist bands began to relocate their fishing station "up" along their principle stream rather than at some point on the Delaware River near the mouth of that stream. Much of the Delaware riverfront lands of each band, had been sold to colonists. When enough of the land had been sold by one of the bands as to lead them to feel "crowded," they would then decide that a location upstream within their band territory would be preferable to living where they would see Europeans on a regular basis during the long fishing season. Which band was the first to move toward the interior is not known, but within the decade of the 1660s we find increasing reports of journeys to contact a specific band that had located its fishing station at an upstream location. The basic pattern of relocating such fishing stations, about every five to ten years, had remained the same but the direction of each move was now very different. Rather than a random shifting along the Delaware River near the mouth of the band's feeder stream, after 1660 each shift took the band as a whole to a location further away from the Delaware River. Colonial settlement density varied by ethnic group. The Swedish population remained relatively small while English numbers appear to have grown exponentially. The children of that first small wave of English who had arrived ca. 1655 to 1660 were maturing ca. 1675. A rapid rise in the demand for land took place in the years immediately before William Penn received his Crown charter, and even before the purchasers Penn planned to attract (Penn 1681) had begun to pour into the region.

With increasing Lenape participation in the pelt trade after 1660, and virtual control after 1675, these people became very familiar with the regions west of the Susuqehanna. By the 1720s Lenape were acting as guides to colonial explorers in West Virginia, and they had hamlets established along the Ohio River and to the west by 1725.

These Lenape soon became identified in documents as the "Western Delaware" to distinguish them from the Lenopi (Becker 2008), a few of whom were moving into central Pennsylvania after 1734. The period 1660 to 1675 may have been pivotal in Lenape history, but largely in providing a new mode by which some of these people could adjust to changes in the political landscape. The old ways of the Late Woodland period, that developed after 1000 CE, continued through the 1730s, but by the 1660s the frontier offered a different way to be a Lenape.

DISCUSSION: WHO WERE THE REAL LENAPE? FRACTIONING, FACTIONALISM, AND OTHER NORMAL PATTERNS WITHIN A FORAGING SOCIETY

The Lenape, as all traditional foraging societies, placed a high value on individualism and personal autonomy. Some of the deleterious effects of factionalism were avoided by ingrained cultural techniques (see Miller 1975). The lack of overt hostility among these people was instrumental in allowing individuals and groups to seek their own adjustments to opportunities as well as to stresses. Tracing any individual or any single group of Lenape leads to a view of these people that might be very different from the view produced by following a different person, even if the two were siblings. This we are faced with a very basic question; who are we calling Lenape? Were they those who:

1. Moved west by 1661, attracted by the pelt trade and pushed by the damming of their streams by colonists?
2. Remained in their traditional range after 1660, collecting the anadromous fish that has been the traditional economic base for centuries?
3. Married among the colonists, such as the ancestors of Daniel Boone, or people such as Hannah Freeman who simply lived and worked among the farming peoples who were new immigrants into the region.

A number of myths have arisen to describe the Lenape (see Becker 2009c), all of which attempt to construct a single, simplified view of these complex people. What we do know is that the Lenape people, who had been marginal to the developing pelt trade for over 100 years due to their location, became involved in this world trade system only after major political changes brought an important trade route through their territory in 1623. Even before 1660, when they began to be major players, the Lenape were involved in the economic processes that afforded them access to desired goods. The importance of "local" responses to trade and colonization has also been noted by Hodos (2006) for peoples in North Africa, Sicily and northern Syria. In recognizing specific cultures and their unique interactions with colonizers, Hodos helps us to recognize what constitutes a "colony." As has been a relatively recent trend in North America, Hodos (2006:18) gives "agency" to the "cultures" that she delineates rather than seeing them as passive victims of colonial activities. In the non-literate cultures that she delineates the changes in burial practice and in religion exactly parallel the changes that we see in the Delaware Valley, where the rich documentary record vastly increases our ability to interpret the scant archaeological evidence. The documents enable us to see that culture contact and culture change among the Lenape conforms to rules of human behavior that parallel those of cultures around the world and at all periods of human activity.

CONCLUSIONS: IMPLICATIONS FOR ARCHAEOLOGY

The term "Contact" to identify a point in time when a native people first encountered Europeans has been used commonly to suggest a point after which aboriginal lifestyle, and thus their archaeological record, was substantially altered. Not only is the term "Contact" used without regard to specific dates, but the meaning of the term rarely is defined. Not only does this term fail to recognize cultural continuities among native peoples, but it also suggests, falsely, that any changes in material culture reveal significant disturbances in cultural traditions. The gradual and normative changes in culture that can be revealed by archaeology are distorted. The documentary record reveals that Lenape lifestyle was stable into and beyond the 1720s despite a number of changes in the economic systems available to them (cf. Ferris 2009:26-27, for the Great Lakes). Only after 1700 do we see changes in some basic elements of Lenape life, such as the use of coffins for extended burials (Becker 1992a) and the adoption of the use of sterling silver ornaments (Becker 1992b).

The view of the Lenape as village dwelling horticulturalists emerged only after 1830, reflecting published accounts by Quaker missionaries who had lived among the Five Nations Iroquois. Our understanding of the Lenape as fish-oriented foragers emerged only after 1970 when ethnohistoric studies began to reveal the aboriginal cultural patterns of the Lenape (Becker 1980, 1999a, 2009a, 2009c). While dozens of sites within the territory of the Lenape reveal Late Woodland period stone tools, we have not a single site dating from before 1700 that has produced burials or features that reveal in any way specifics regarding the lives of these people, or that provides evidence to distinguish them from many of their near neighbors. The extensive ethnographic record now enables us to understand a great deal about the foraging cycle that generated those Late Woodland sites. This record also indicates that Late Woodland patterns were almost entirely unaltered by the addition of specific trade goods, such as cloth, or the gradual substitution of metals for stone tools. An extremely important shift in the location of Lenape warm weather fishing stations took place after 1660. A rapid expansion of the European colonial population, and their willingness to purchase lands, took place simultaneously with the Susquehannock

search for allies. The ability to enter the lucrative pelt trade led the Lenape, after 1660, to establish hamlets within Susquehannock territory and even further to the west (cf. Becker 1988).

Not a single Lenape site that is more extensive than a brief encampment is known from before 1700. In fact, few native sites of any culture in this region can be dated to the period between 1500 and 1700, let alone assigned a specific cultural identity on the basis of archaeological evidence alone. The direct archaeological evidence for the Lenape during the period ca 1720 to ca. 1733 (Becker 1992a), reveals that their graves were carefully spaced and had a uniform orientation. This suggests that the many Lenape bands shared these cultural features through time and space. Although I doubt that the Lenape, prior to 1660, had outposts with cemeteries beyond their historically documented range, we cannot infer from location alone that certain sites beyond Lenape home territory have no connection with these people.

Little is known of Lenape archaeology from the period prior to 1700. Often sites from areas outside the Lenape homeland are linked to the Lenape on the basis of the most tenuous evidence. At least one Lenape site in the Susquehanna drainage has been misidentified as "Susquehannock." Now that we can document Lenape movement out of their homeland after 1660 we can better examine the archaeological record of the region and more specifically assign sites to one of the several peoples popularly glossed as "Delaware" (see Becker 2008).

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This paper reviews a portion of 40 years of research on the Lenape and their neighbors in the era before 1740 CE. The focus here is on the important period around 1660 when the Late Woodland lifestyle of the Lenape began to diverge in several ways. A summary of these data was presented at a symposium organized by Richard Veit and David Orr for the November 2008 CNEHA meetings in St Mary's City, Maryland. An updated version was presented in the symposium *Time, Space, and Society in the Eastern Woodlands* organized by Bernard K. Means for 2009 MAAC meetings in Ocean City, Maryland. My sincere thanks are due to these colleagues for their encouragement to get this information into print. This review includes only a small part of the evidence available for that important period.

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